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UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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Monthly Summary.

AMERICA.—The re-opening of the African slave-trade has been made the subject of resolutions in both Houses of the South Carolina Legislature. In the Senate, Mr. Mazyick submitted that the Constitution of the United States contains no grant of power to regulate, prevent, or restrict commerce among foreign nations; and, therefore, all acts of Congress purporting to prohibit or interfere with the slave-trade between foreign countries are unconstitutional, and have no rightful force or effect. Further, that the Act of Congress declaring the slave-trade to be piracy, if it be understood as affirming that it is piracy in the nature of things, and in the sense of the Constitution, affirms what is not true; and, inasmuch as it purports and intends to convert into piracy what is not so in the nature of things, and in the sense of the Constitution, the said Act is unconstitutional, null, and void.

The Senate being unprepared at that time to act upon the resolutions, they were referred to the Committee on Federal Relations by a vote of 25 to 18.

In the House of Representatives Mr. Spratt had submitted similar views, but his resolutions were indefinitely postponed by a vote of 63 to 47.

The applications of the Dred Scott decision are being extended in a portentous way. In Virginia it has been decided that, if a will gives a slave the choice of Freedom or Slavery, the provision is invalid, a slave having no right of choice in any matter. His legal owner must elect for him, or the law casts his lot in Slavery. Even a will emancipating

slaves, but allowing such as choose to remain in bondage and select a master among the testator's relatives, has been overthrown as being a mere bequest of election between freedom and bondage.

Much uncertainty continued to prevail, and much anxiety, concerning Senator Sumner's health. According to a letter dated Paris, 19th Nov. last, addressed by Mr. Sumner's physician, Dr. Heywood, to Senator Wilson, his medical advisers have concluded, after a minute examination of his present condition, that he is still suffering from the injuries he received more than two years and a half ago; but it is their unanimous opinion, expressed with great confidence, that he will surely recover, though it is impossible to tell how soon. It was also considered unadvisable for him to return to his public duties during the coming winter; and his continuance in Europe for the present is considered as very important, if not essential, to the completion of his cure. Some of the alarming symptoms that existed when Mr. Sumner arrived in Paris have nearly if not quite disappeared, and all of them have been essentially modified.

An attempt made in Vermont to get the Legislature to adopt a Bill proposed by Senator Nicholson, for the surrender of fugitives from service, has not only been defeated, but the Legislature has passed a law, the first and sixth sections of which enact, that no person within that State shall be considered as property, or subject, as such, to sale, purchase, or delivery; nor shall any person, within the limits of the State at this time, be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law. Further, that every person

who may have been held as a slave, who shall come, or be brought, or be in the State, with or without the consent of his or her master or mistress, or who shall come, or be brought, or be, involuntarily or in any way, in the State, shall be free.

The *American Anti-Slavery Society* have adopted these two sections of the Vermont Law as the basis of the petition they are now endeavouring to promote, to induce the Massachusetts Legislature to pass a kindred law.

Mr. Daily, of Nebraska, has introduced into the House a Bill prohibiting Slavery and involuntary servitude in the Territory after the 1st of January 1859. It was referred to a select Committee of five, with instructions to report. The nature of the report we have yet to learn.

There have been more border skirmishes in Kansas.

Mr. Preston, newly-appointed Minister to Spain, had left for his post. One object of his mission is said to be to endeavour to negotiate for the peaceful acquisition of Cuba, which is to be submitted as a mercantile transaction, which Spain can entertain without a sacrifice of honour, dignity, or position.

In connection with this subject a proposition had been broached in the Senate for appropriating 30,000,000 dols. for the purchase of Cuba, in accordance with the President's views. The Bill was introduced by Mr. Slidell, and sets forth that Cuba geographically possesses a commanding influence over the large and annually increasing trade, foreign and coastwise, of the Mississippi Valley: that the island in its present colonial condition must continue a source of injury and annoyance, endangering the friendly relations between Spain and the United States, by the aggressions of its local authorities upon American commerce and citizens, for which tardy redress can only be had by circuitous demands on Spain; and that, in the opinion of Congress, and in accordance with the views of the President, as the best means of settling the existing, and removing further difficulties, it is expedient that negotiations for the purchase of the island should be renewed: therefore 30,000,000 of dollars are to be placed in the President's hands for expenditure, either from cash in the treasury, or borrowed on five per cent. bonds of 1000 dollars each, redeemable in from twelve to twenty years.

The yacht *Wanderer* had landed a cargo of 400 Africans at Savannah in Georgia. The circumstance had caused the greatest excitement, and several persons arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the landing had been committed for trial. The *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* says that subpoenas have been served upon several planters in Georgia suspected of having purchased portions of the cargo, who will be cited as wit-

nesses in the legal proceedings now pending in reference to that importation. It is alleged that the attempt was made designedly, with a view to test the constitutionality of the laws prohibiting the traffic. But very little credit is attached to this statement, although a Mr. Lamar, a merchant, of Savannah, some months since notified the Secretary of the Treasury that he 'would re-open the slave trade with foreign countries,' despite the laws of the United States. It is observed, that if the design of the persons engaged in the affair of the *Wanderer* had been to contest the validity of the laws referred to, the introduction of half a-dozen Africans would have effected the purpose. In that case, too, the negroes would have been imported openly, and kept together in such custody that they would have been always amenable to the process of Federal Law. Exactly the opposite course has been pursued. The cargo was smuggled into Georgia, and landed clandestinely upon an uninhabited island. The negroes were surreptitiously conveyed in small parties into the interior, and hastily distributed into districts remote from the place of disembarkation. The parties importing them have not avowed themselves, and cannot be found. The object of the venture was, not to test the constitutionality of any United States' statute, but rather to sound the temper of the South relative to this business. The success of the experiment thus far has been such as to drive the Government journal into the mournful admission that Federal Laws against the slave-trade cannot be enforced, and that, in consequence, Republican institutions are a failure.

In Mississippi, Vigilance Committees have been established for the purpose of putting a stop to the illicit trade in slaves.

A private despatch from Charleston says that in the case of the crew of the *Ketch Brothers*, charged with slave-trading, being taken up in the United-States' District Court, the Grand Jury ignored the bills of indictment.

A Bill, now under consideration, for the admission of Oregon into the Union, contains some oppressive enactments against negroes. It inhibits the immigration of free negroes and mulattoes, and, in reality, excludes this class of people from the State. This is contrary to that provision of the Federal Constitution which insures to the citizens of any State the privileges and immunities of citizens in each and all the States. It also prohibits free negroes and mulattoes from holding real estate, or making contracts, or maintaining suits in any of the Courts of the State. This prohibition is subject to the same constitutional objection as that which forbids immigration.

At a conference held in Delaware, a reso-

lution was passed approving the anti-slavery course of the Revs. Dr. Wheedon and Wise in the conduct of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* and the *Sunday-School Advocate*.

James L. Bowers, a member of the Society of Friends, had been tarred and feathered in Kentucky, and otherwise ill-treated, on suspicion of entertaining abolitionist views.

A call was circulating and receiving the signatures of influential men of all parties, professions, and denominations, in the principal towns of New York, for a State Convention at Albany, on the 25th and 26th of January last, to promote the movement for the extinction of Slavery by fair and honourable compensation (out of the National Treasury or Public Domain) to the slaveholding States, for the manumission of their slaves. The call, with the names, was expected to be published in the course of the following week.

The Grand Jury have ignored the bill filed in the South-Carolina Court against the crew of the slaver *Echo*, who will now be discharged; and in New York the Jury, in the case of Buttish and others, indicted for being engaged in the slave-trade, on board the *Haidee*, has returned a verdict of not guilty.

The Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, and Miss Sarah P. Remond, of Salem, Mass., sailed for Europe on the 29th of December ult., in the steamer *Arabia*, from Boston. Mr. May (who is a leading member of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*) designs spending three or four months on the Continent; he will then return to England, and remain through the summer.

AFRICA, WEST COAST.—A project has been set on foot to establish a mail to and from Lagos to Abbeokuta, and a service of small steamers to land goods at Lagos, which are now obliged to be taken in surf-canoes and by land carriage. The annual loss by the present mode of transit is estimated at 20 per cent., besides the actual cost of the same. The enterprise is interesting, from the circumstance of its being entirely local. The promoter is a Signor Scala, of Abbeokuta.

The result of the interference of the *Alecto* and the *Niagara*—referred to in our last Summary—in the case of M. Chevalier, seems to have been that the French vessel found it impossible to complete her cargo on the Liberian coast, and therefore left for Gaboon.

The decease is announced of Bori Lahie, which, it is conjectured, will terminate hostilities between the Moriahs and Timmanees.

FRANCE.—A decree, signed by Prince Napoleon Jerome, as Minister for the Colonies, and dated Paris, 6th January ult., prohibits all recruiting of labourers from the East Coast of Africa, Madagascar, and the Comoro islands, and also any introduction into Réunion of immigrants from those sources, or from St. Marie, Mayotte, and Rossi-Bé. It is said that the Duke de Broglie

spoke before the Commission of Inquiry in the strongest terms against the continuance of the system. The decree exempts from its prohibition any "recruiting operations now in course of execution."

HAVANA.—The Corporation of Havana has adopted an address to the Queen of Spain on the subject of that passage in the last annual message of the President of the United States which refers to the purchase of Cuba. The address is couched in very strong language.

The local journals were again treating on the question of the immigration of Chinese colonists into the island of Cuba. It is alleged that the black population is diminishing, in spite of the slave-trade and the introduction of negroes. Divers proposals had been sent in by respectable (?) foreign firms; as also from the Company of the Credit Mobilier of Barcelona, who offer to the State 20,000,000 reals (200,000*l.*), and engage to found in Cuba an educational and beneficent establishment for the colonists they shall import.

SPAIN.—In the Cortes a strong protest has been passed against the assumption by President Buchanan, that Spain would dispose of Cuba.

THE WEST INDIES.—The Government organs in Jamaica are chuckling over the passing of the Immigration Bill, and of the one to sanction the importation of Chinese by private persons. It is said the former has been framed in accordance with the suggestions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (we presume, Lord Stanley,) and the promoters look with confidence to its receiving the assent of Her Majesty's Government. The only opponent of the Bill, in the House of Assembly, was Mr. Wm. Thos. March, the senior member of the parish of St. Catherine, who said there was "abundant labour in the country to carry on estates." The stipendiary magistrates are to be the sub-immigration-agents, with increased salaries. The *Falmouth Post*, of the 17th December, says that applications have already been made to the Immigration Agent-General for 2000 immigrants, of whom 700 are to be settled in Westmoreland. The prevalent opinion was that the Indian immigration would be unlimited, but that there would be no Chinese obtained, or but few. A fund of 3000*l.* is to be placed at the disposal of the Governor for the employment of agents at the ports of embarkation that may be selected. An animated debate on the Bill for extending the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace, or *The Judicial Amendment Bill*, as it is styled, had taken place, but as some of our papers are missing, we are not in a position to state the result. Meetings against it were being got up. The Bill had passed providing that a 10*s.* stamp

shall be affixed to the written claim of every individual who desires to be registered as a voter, and the qualifications are, a freehold of the clear annual value of 6*l.*, a rent-charge and occupation as tenant of houses assessed at 20*l.* per annum, the annual payment of taxes to the amount of 1*l.*, and the enjoyment of a salary of not less than 50*l.* sterling. Another Bill has been passed providing for the taking of a census of the people in the course of the present year.

A report from the Immigration Agent-General, read in the Court of Policy of British Guiana, shews that the number of Portuguese introduced since 1st July 1857, under the Ordinance of that year which dispenses with indentures, amounted to 1563, at a cost to the colony of 46,690 dollars, being 11,690 in excess of the sum specified in the ordinance. The Court, to which the question was referred by the Governor, decided that the agent be instructed to proceed with the immigration until further ordered.

THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. OLMSTED proceeds into Georgia, and continues the remarks suggested by the condition of the poor whites in that State, which had occurred to him in relation to the same class in South Carolina. He thus shews that the institution is not only oppressive with regard to those who are its bond victims, but that

SLAVERY DEGRADES THE POOR FREE WHITES.

"Until one has closely observed the operation of Slavery upon the poor free people of a slave community, it is but natural to attribute their condition only to causes which, in free communities, would be considered unfavourable to the rapid accumulation of wealth. The poor people of Georgia are mostly seen dwelling upon soils naturally unfertile, or made barren by the wasteful necessity of previous slaveholding occupants; and it is customary with travellers, and with their more fortunate neighbours, to attribute their poverty to this circumstance.

"If this were the case, Slavery would still be primarily responsible for the condition; because, by concentrating in one man's hands the profits of the labour of many hands, it gives him power to purchase for that labour the most profitable field to be obtained for its application, and thus drives to the least profitable the man who can use merely the results of his own personal labour.

"But it is a mistake to suppose that the poverty of the soil necessitates the poverty of its occupants. It may account for a sparse settlement, but does not for such general idleness or ill-paid industry as is evident among the poor whites of Georgia.

"There is no part of Georgia which equals, in poverty of natural agricultural resources, Cape Cod, in Massachusetts. But there is hardly a poor woman's cow on the Cape that is not better

housed and more comfortably provided for than a majority of the white people of Georgia. A majority of the people of the Cape have far better houses, better furniture, better food, and altogether live, I have no doubt, in more comfort than the majority of even the slaveholders of Georgia. The people of the Cape have manners and customs, and a character peculiar to themselves, as have the "Crackers" and "Sandhillers," of Georgia. In both there is frankness, boldness, and simplicity; but in the one it is associated with intelligence, discretion, and an expansion of mind, resulting from considerable education; in the other with ignorance, improvidence, laziness, and the prejudice of narrow minds."

The subjoined are interesting facts on the disputed point of the alleged natural inferiority of the negro intellect.

THE MUSICAL TALENT OF NEGROES.

"The love of music which characterizes the negro, the readiness with which he acquires skill in the art, his power of memorizing and improvising music, is most marked and constant. I think, also, that sweet musical voices are more common with the negro than with the white race: certainly than with the white race in America. I have frequently been startled by clear, bell-like tones, from a negro woman in conversation, while walking the streets of a southern town, and have listened to them with a thrill of pleasure. A gentleman in Savanna told me, that in the morning after the performance of an opera in that city, he had heard more than one negro, who could in no way have heard it before, whistling the most difficult airs with perfect accuracy. I have heard ladies say, that whenever they have obtained any new and choice music, almost as soon as they had learned it themselves, their servants have caught the air, and they were likely to hear it whistled in the streets the first night they were out. In all of the Southern cities, there are music bands, composed of negroes, often of great excellence. The military parades are usually accompanied by a negro brass band.

"Dr. Cartwright, arguing that the negro is a race of inferior capabilities, says that the negro does not understand harmony; his songs are mere sounds, without sense or meaning. My observations are of but little value upon such a point, as I have had no musical education; but they would lead me to the contrary opinion. The common plantation negroes, or deck-hands of the steamboats, whose minds are so little cultivated that they cannot count twenty, will often, in rolling cotton bales, or carrying wood on board the boat, fall to singing, each taking a different part, and carrying it on with great spirit and independence, and in such perfect harmony, as I never heard singers, who had not been considerably educated at the north.

MATHEMATICAL CAPACITY.

"Touching the intellectual capacity of negroes: I was dining with a gentleman, when he asked the waiter, a lad of eighteen, to tell him what the time was. The boy, after studying the clock, replied incorrectly; and the gentle-

man said it was impossible for him to make the simple calculation necessary. He had promised to give him a dollar, a year ago, whenever he could tell the time by the clock: had taken a good deal of trouble to teach him, but he did not seem to make any progress. I have since met with another negro boy, having the same remarkable inability, both the lads being intelligent, and learning easily in other respects: the first could read. I doubt if it is a general deficiency of the race: both these boys had marked depressions where phrenologists locate the organ of calculation.

"A gentleman, whom I visited, in Montgomery, had a carpenter, who was remarkable for his mathematical capacities. Without having had any instruction, he was able to give very close and accurate estimates for the quantity of all descriptions of lumber to be used in building a large and handsome dwelling, of the time to be employed upon it, and of its cost. He was an excellent workman; and, when not occupied with work directly for his master, obtained employment of others—making engagements and taking contracts for jobs, without being required to consult his master. He had been purchased for two thousand dollars, and his ordinary wages were two dollars a day. He earned considerable money besides for himself, by overwork at his trade, and still more in another way."

AMERICAN INTRIGUES IN ST. DOMINGO.

NO. II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER."

SIR—There are not wanting indications of a crafty change in the tactics of the pro-slavery party in the United States. Finding that very serious difficulties stand in the way of the acquisition by America of any portion of the island of St. Domingo, they are now endeavouring to tempt the cupidity of France. This is the more necessary, as, up to the present time, France, as well as England, has strenuously resisted American encroachments, both in St. Domingo and in Cuba. The *New-York Herald* is the fitting exponent of this new scheme of the American filibusters. That journal proposes that the Emperor Napoleon and the American Government should come to an arrangement, by which he should regain possession of the old French colony of St. Domingo (now the empire of Hayti); and they should, as a *quid pro quo*, be permitted to annex Cuba to the Union. Louis Napoleon is complimented for having "shewn himself to be a practical man, far above the fanatical tendencies of European humanitarians, and capable of rightly estimating the true elements of civilized well-being." His efforts "to re-invigorate" the French West Indies with African labour having failed, he is advised to direct his attention to the former French colony of Hayti, or St. Domingo. "France,"

continues the *New-York Herald*, "now holds a mortgage over Hayti of some one hundred and eighty or two hundred millions of francs, which will never be paid. In view of this state of things, we advise Louis Napoleon to send out a portion of the fleet and army he has prepared, and take possession of the once rich colony so foolishly thrown away by the first French Directory. By so doing, he will do a great good to civilization, give employment to the armament that now alarms Europe, and augment the power of France with a colony containing thirty thousand square miles of territory, and capable of unlimited expansion in an industrial sense."

There is, of course, no truth whatever in the statement of the *Herald*, that France holds a mortgage of any kind over Hayti. The simple truth is, that, in 1833, Hayti entered into two treaties with France.—By one, France recognised the independence of Hayti; and by the other, which was a financial convention, the latter country agreed to pay the sum of sixty millions of francs to the former colonists of St. Domingo, as an indemnity for the losses they had sustained during the revolution. It was agreed that this indemnity should be paid in the form of annual instalments, and, up to this time, the engagement has been honourably fulfilled. So much for the story of the *New-York* journalist. The reader will perceive by what despicable falsehoods the scheme to despoil a nation of its liberties and independence is sought to be justified.

In another article, published on the 9th July, the *New-York Herald* says:—

"The probability of an *entente cordiale* between France and the United States, in regard to the future political relations and industrial security of Cuba and Hayti, is beginning to attract public attention.

"No political arrangement between two Governments would meet with greater approbation from the whole civilized world, when once effected, than the transfer of these two islands—one to follow the course of its former sisters, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, and become a State in our Union; and the other to return to its allegiance to France, and accept from it the civilization it has lost, and the skilled labour and capital so necessary to enable it to become a contributor to the wants of the world. The proposition will, no doubt, evolve some opposing discussion, for there are never wanting opponents for any plan, no matter how generally advantageous it may be. But there are in the condition of both Hayti and Cuba reasons which call for interference on the part of governments that comprehend the true march of the world more rationally than do those of either Souloque or Isabel Segunda.

"In Hayti we have a barbarous and fruitless imitation of the forms of a constitutional absolutism, if such a thing could exist anywhere but in a negro community. The social condition of the people is no better than that of slaves, with the disadvantage that they are slaves to their own kind, who do not possess the intelli-

gence necessary to guide their labour productively, nor the humanity to govern the bondsmen with lenity. The very existence of this state of things in close proximity to civilized communities is a blot upon the age. France has claims upon Hayti which fully entitle her to re-assume her sway there, and Louis Napoleon has shewn himself to possess the practical mind necessary to re-organize government and society there. In the growing importance of the transit routes across the American isthmus, and the care with which England clings to her military position, present and prospective, in the Caribbean Sea, there are abundant reasons why France should enter again upon that dominion which was thrown away by the agrarianism of the first French revolution.

"The situation of Cuba, too, though very different from that of Hayti in a social point of view, is equally unstable in its present political relations. The military position which it holds towards this country makes it an important feature in our scheme of national defence, and points with unmistakable certainty to the fact, that, in the event of any great convulsion in Europe, we must take immediate possession of it for our own safety. Another element of change in Cuba which the United States are morally bound to guard against, is the policy pursued by Spain there. That government openly consents to the prosecution of the slave-trade, and thereby fosters the elements of a war between England and this country, which must be removed. But besides this, she persistently entertains the idea that she will reduce Cuba to the same state of black barbarism from which the whole world now desires to see Hayti and Jamaica reclaimed. For this purpose is she arming the negroes there, and making them a part of her standing army, while the white Creoles are jealously precluded from learning the use of arms or military drill and tactics. Such a policy, if not changed by the interference of other powers, will inevitably light the flames of a war of races in Cuba, in which our people will take part from a feeling of sympathy with the Cubans, and ultimately result in a war between the United States and Spain."

The coolness with which the American writer proposes that the Emperor Napoleon should play the part of an imperial bandit, and seize upon Hayti without the slightest cause of quarrel, will surprise no one who is acquainted with the character of the party of which the *New-York Herald* is one of the chief organs. They especially hate every thing in the shape of negro self-government, and therefore St. Domingo, the British West Indies, and Liberia, are in turn the objects of malignant calumnies on their part. They exult in the professed belief that "the bright dreams that were entertained of the political millennium which was to come to the free nigger through the black empire of Hayti, or the mulatto republic of Liberia, have been dissolved; the economical fallacies about free-labour being cheaper and more productive than slave labour have given way before the intense laziness of the emancipated black in all the West-India islands

and Spanish America; the great social mistake that whites can live in a community where blacks preponderate, and prosper under a social equality with them, is demonstrated; and the popular error, that the negro is only a white man with a black skin, is fast melting away. No revival of the Exeter-Hall eloquence of the olden time can save its fallacies and its fanaticism from destruction. Its theories have been reduced to practice, and they have utterly failed. No community of emancipated blacks has preserved its industry, its mechanical skill, its knowledge of the arts, or its memory of the teachings of Christianity. Everywhere in them production has declined, handicraft has disappeared, science has waned, and the moral truths have become sadly darkened."

There is, happily, no reason to believe that the Emperor Napoleon is, in the least degree, favourable to the scheme of spoliation proposed by the Northern organ of the American slaveocracy. The French consuls in St. Domingo have, equally with the English, set their faces against American intrigues in that country; and the policy of France is opposed, equally with that of England, to the acquisition or conquest of Cuba by the United States. The articles in the *New-York Herald* must, therefore, be simply regarded as "feelers," and it is gratifying to know, that, as yet, they have met with no response from the French press.

The statement of the New-York journal that "the social condition of the Haytian people is no better than that of slaves," and that "no community of emancipated blacks has preserved its industry, its mechanical skill, its knowledge of the arts, or its memory of the teachings of Christianity," is worthy only of ridicule and contempt. The falsehood of one part of the statement is sufficiently proved by the annually increasing export and import trade between the United States and Hayti. Appeal from the unscrupulous journalist to the merchants of New York and Boston, and ask them whether the supplies of coffee, of sugar, and of mahogany, which they receive from Port au Prince and Jacmel, do not furnish proofs of the industry and intelligence of the negro traders of Hayti. There is scarcely a mechanical art in which the Haytians have not attained to a high state of efficiency. The various trades of harness-making, clock-making, goldsmithing, saddlery, and cabinet-making, are carried on with skill and success; nor are there wanting equally gratifying signs of progress in several branches of the fine arts. Hayti also possesses a newspaper press, and a literature of character and respectability. Her historical writers, Madiou, B. Ardouin, Linstant,* St. Remy (who lately died at Paris),

* Now the Baron L. de Pradine, *Chargé d'Affaires* from Hayti to the Court of St. James.

and Emile Nau, have achieved a European reputation; so likewise have her poets, Dupré, Mil-sent, Ignace Nau, Corcolan Ardouin, and P. Faubert. The Roman-Catholic religion is the religion of the state, but full toleration is allowed to all other sects. Ample provision is made for the education of all classes of the people. In the chief town of every province there are maintained a college, a superior school for girls, and two primary schools, one for boys and the other for girls. The smaller towns are provided with a public school for both boys and girls, some of them with two. There are also many private scholastic establishments, there being no fewer than twenty-five in Port au Prince alone. Large numbers of the Haytian youth are educated in the colleges of France, where many of them have acquired high distinction.

A valued correspondent informs me that "three Haytians obtained, in August last, the greatest honours at the Academy of the College of Paris. During two consecutive years, Fenelon Faubert gained the prize of honour in rhetoric. Alexander Delva obtained the first prize of Greek in the second class; and young Dupuy a prize in the third class." I may add, that these successful students have been rewarded by their own Government, and that M. Lespinasse, the Secretary of the Haytian Legation in London, has presented each of them with a gold medal, a testimonial which was raised by public subscription in Port au Prince.

When the education of the Haytian student, who visits France, is completed, he returns to his own country, becomes a merchant, adopts the profession of the law, or enters into the service of the state, so that there is growing up in Hayti a highly educated aristocracy and middle class. It cannot, of course, be pretended that Hayti has made the same progress in the arts and sciences, education and religion, as older and more favoured communities have done. But taking into account that only sixty years have elapsed since Hayti was peopled by a nation of slaves, that she has suffered severely from internal disruption and civil war, and that she has had to develop her resources, educate her people, and maintain her independence with no counsel or assistance from any of the civilized governments in the world, every unprejudiced observer must admit that she has effected wonders for her own elevation and advancement. But even if the facts were otherwise, it is scarcely becoming in those who advocate the enslavement of the negro, who withhold from him, as far as it is possible, all the means of intellectual and moral improvement, and who endeavour to shut him out from all intercourse with the more civilized race, to make the law of nature and of Providence responsible for the results of their own selfish and unchristian policy.

What every friend of the negro must desire

to see is the re-union of the two sections of the island of St. Domingo. During the twenty-two years that this union existed, the whole country became the scene of surprising improvements; both the East and the West participated in the benefits which flowed from peace, union, and contentment. "The face of the eastern country (now the Dominican Republic)," says an eyewitness, "changed immediately after the union had been accomplished. Slavery was for ever abolished there. A new and better administration was established; an armed and regular force organized; the Haytian system of legislation introduced; order maintained in the interior, and the seaports guarded from attack; labour encouraged; the exportation of precious woods increased; and agriculture developed. The results soon became manifest. The great markets of the West received and disposed of large numbers of the cattle of the East. The more talented Dominicans were called to the Haytian legislature and courts of justice. The funds of the great commercial bodies, especially of the English houses at Cape Haytian, Gonaives, St. Mare, Port au Prince, and Jacmel, were diffused throughout all parts of the country, revivifying industry everywhere." Such is the glowing but true picture of the state of St. Domingo from 1822 to 1844, in which last year the Dominicans raised the standard of independence on the ground of discontent with the new Haytian constitution, and especially with that clause of it which gave religious freedom to all sects. The separation, which has continued since 1844, has given birth to foreign intrigue and domestic treason; it has divided the Dominican Republic into two hostile camps, and made it suffer all the calamities of a bankrupt exchequer and an impoverished and decimated people; and, lastly, it has led to war between two provinces which had previously enjoyed all the blessings of a fraternal union. It is cause for regret that the influence of both France and England has been employed to maintain and widen this separation. Doubtless the present deplorable state of things may give more power and importance to officious consuls and their subordinates; but it is unquestionably as much opposed to the true interests of England and France, as it is to those of the people of St. Domingo. The erection of a strong negro government in that island would prove a bulwark of defence to our own West Indies; and most assuredly, if England will exercise her influence on the side of union, rather than of separation, she will find that, in this case, duty and interest will go hand in hand.

Your obedient servant,

F. W. CHESSEON.

London, 14th Dec., 1858.

DISTINCTIONS IN RELIGIOUS WORSHIPPERS.

THE following has been forwarded to us for insertion, as illustrating the prejudice against colour in the United States :

"The writer was informed by a relative that an American gentleman had recently paid him a visit, and told him that a man of colour at New York, who presented himself at a place of worship, with the desire, no doubt, of participating in the religious devotions then in daily progress, was referred, according to usage, to a separate place. To comply as indicated he did not incline; possibly he felt the manner in which this was done to be repulsive. He proceeded to a friend of the anti-slavery cause, who supplied him with printed papers to give away on the subject of distinctions observed towards different worshippers in one and the same place. These he handed about near to the same place of worship, and a person connected with it desired him not to do so. He went off a little way and continued his distribution. This being noticed by the same person, to his dissatisfaction, he further discouraged him; and as the man went off still further, continuing to hand the papers, he followed him until he reached the house or office of the gentleman who supplied the papers, who, it appeared, was known by that person. He remonstrated with the gentleman on his encouraging the distribution of the papers, as affecting the interests of the revival, and, it seems, urged the prudence of forbearing topics of difference at such a time. They had a calm conversation, the gentleman reading to him out of the Epistle of James: 'If there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man,' &c., going through the whole chapter. This seemed to fail of producing conviction; but the same chapter was read a second time, and the judgment of the visiting person seemed to be so far convinced as that he could not deny the applicability of that scripture to the case in hand.

"By the foregoing statement—and there is no reason to believe that in any portion of the United States the case materially differs—it may be seen how little disposition exists to bring into view the cause of the oppressed and the downtrodden; and it affords presumptive evidence how little the generality of the professed ministers of the gospel attempt any thing towards the fulfilment of the injunction, in spirit one and the same with those words of the Apostle—'Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and them that suffer adversity as being yourselves also in the body' (Heb. xiii. 2). For whether aversion of colour, which largely participates of dislike to the negro, deaden sympathy that ought to be felt for the bondsman, or whether friendship to and for the oppressor induce a partial and defective view of the iniquity of Slavery, it is obvious that a people who, professing to mourn because of sin, and to cherish desire to amend their future life, must also be concerned, in common consistency, to bring forth fruits accordant with such profession; or else, as 'the body without the Spirit is dead, faith without works is also dead,' as saith the Apostle first quoted from."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1859.

IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

DEPUTATION TO SIR E. BULWER LYTTON.

ON Tuesday, the 25th ult., a deputation waited upon Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, for the purpose of presenting a Memorial from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* against the present system of immigration to the West Indies, and to urge special objections to the Immigration Bill recently passed by the Jamaica Legislature, and now awaiting the assent of the Home Government. The deputation consisted of the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Gen. Thompson, M.P., Mr. C. Gilpin, M.P., Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P., Rev. Dr. Carlile, Rev. H. Richard, Rev. D. J. East (Jamaica), Rev. J. Kennedy, Messrs. J. Sturge, Joseph Cooper, G. W. Alexander, John Moreland, Josiah Forster, W. Miles, H. Sterry, Dr. Norton Shaw, G. L. Neighbour, J. R. Burchett, S. Bourne, C. B. Warner, T. H. Gladstone, and L. A. Chamerovzow.

Mr. CHARLES GILPIN, M.P., having introduced the deputation, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton said that he wished to make an observation on the subject of a correspondence between himself and the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, with reference to receiving a deputation. He would merely express his regret at not having been able sooner to receive it; but begged to assure the members of it that it was owing to no want of respect to them or to the Anti-Slavery Committee. It was simply because, just at this time of the year, when Parliament was not sitting, and the Government was engaged in the preparation and consideration of the numerous and important measures it was intended to submit to the consideration of the Legislature—Cabinet Councils were held more frequently, and with less notice than while Parliament was sitting. He would have been better pleased to have seen all the objections to the Bill before meeting the deputation, but he regretted to say that they had only just reached him, and he had not had time to look at their special objections; so that he was unable to give any opinion upon them.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW explained that the special objections to the Jamaica Bill had only passed the Committee on the previous Friday, but they had been sent in on Saturday last.

Sir E. B. LYTTON replied, that in an office like that, which had to deal with so many colonies, it was necessary that papers should pass through many hands before they reached the Colonial Secretary, and that accounted

for the fact that the special objections had just come into his hands.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW regretted that Sir Edward had not had time to consider the special objections of the Committee to the new measure, for it would occupy too much time to dwell upon them in detail. The deputation had a two-fold object in view; first, to present a Memorial on behalf of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* against the present system of immigration; and secondly, to protest against the Bill recently passed by the Jamaica Legislature, and now awaiting the assent of the Government. A copy of the Memorial had already been forwarded to Sir Edward, the receipt of which he had acknowledged, and the Committee were gratified to learn that he had carefully perused it. He (Mr. Chamerozvow) would therefore now merely hand Sir Edward the original document. With regard to the Jamaica Bill, he must confine himself as much as possible to stating the Committee's general objections to it, though it would have been more satisfactory to dwell upon the clauses in detail, without doing which it was scarcely possible to deal with it as a complete measure. The Committee objected, in the first place, to the general principle of the Bill. It would saddle the colony with a large proportion of the expenditure necessary to carry out its provisions, although the clauses relating to this section were so speciously framed as to convey the impression that the planters were to bear two-thirds of it. For instance, they were to pay this proportion of the cost of importation, which the Governor was to fix beforehand; but this term was made to include items so various and so complicated, that it would be impossible to fix a just estimate. Apart, however, from these, there were salaries and fees which would have to be paid out of the colonial funds, and, under any circumstances, the credit of the island stood pledged to defray, in the first instance, the necessary expenses. In the end, the burden of any deficit and the interest on the immigration loan would have to be borne by the population at large. Then the powers conferred on the immigration agents were extremely dangerous, and would inevitably prove in practice very oppressive to the immigrants. Take Clauses 56 and 57 for instance, which placed the immigrant entirely in the power of the agent. In connection with them, it must be borne in mind that the immigrant is compelled to serve one master three years, under any circumstances, out of five years, the term absolute of his industrial residence. The remaining two years he could purchase at a given rate. But any absences from labour without "lawful excuse" reckoned against him in the account current of his labour, and he must make the deficit good, either by a money commutation or extra service. How was he to be protected

by Clauses 56 and 57? He might wish to lodge a complaint against his employer; but the latter might not give him the leave of absence necessary to enable him to do so, and he would thus be prevented from obtaining redress. But the very first clauses of the Bill were dangerous. One named Africa as a place whence immigrants were to be obtained, and the other gave the Governor power to declare from what place immigration should take place. Thus he had only to fix upon Africa, and an immigration from that country to Jamaica might at once be opened which would be obnoxious to all the objections which had been raised to the French scheme of procuring so-called free-labourers for Bourbon, Martinique, and Guadaloupe—a slave-trade in fact. (General cries of "Hear, hear.") The Bill also gave the Governor an extraordinary power to fix the food and clothing of the immigrant during the first three months; but he was not obliged to do so, and after that time the immigrant was wholly at the mercy of his employer. Then he could acquire a right to a return-passage only after a ten years' residence in the island, the cost of which was to fall upon the colony. It was true a sinking-fund was proposed to be formed to defray the cost of these return-passages; but this must in the first place be paid out of colonial funds, and if there was any deficit it must be made up from the revenue of the colony. Again, in case of the death of any employer, the immigrant was conveyed to the successor of that employer, and thus, in point of fact, became, for the unexpired term of his service, a "chattel," a slave—in itself a powerful objection to the Bill. Again, it was provided by one clause that children under twelve years should not be separated from their parents, but by another clause the immigration agent might take a child at 12 years, and make it an immigrant to all intents and purposes.

The Hon. A. KINNAIRD, M.P., said perhaps it was hardly fair to Sir Edward to proceed with these detailed objections, seeing he had not had time to consider them in writing, and it would save time if the deputation were to confine themselves to objections to the principle of the Bill. (Hear.)

Mr. C. GILPIN, M.P., said that the objections to the Bill might be summed up briefly. This immigration was not needed: it would tend to cause an immense sacrifice of human life, and was neither more nor less than a revival of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.)

General THOMPSON, M.P., said that twenty millions sterling had been paid either by us or our fathers for the emancipation of the slaves in our West-Indian colonies; and now, after all that large expenditure, it was virtually proposed to renew Slavery in these colonies. He could shew that that was the case when he was Governor of Sierra Leone, when this kind of theory was going on. By

a kind of legal fiction, negroes could only be made free, at that time, by being brought into the Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone, sold in that court, and then made free men. Application was made for the documents which shewed that persons so sold had become free men, but "they were lost." However, having some suspicions that would be the case with his successor, he had somehow got copies of these documents, and brought them away in his boots when he left. (Laughter.)

Mr. J. STURGE said he had visited the West Indies twenty-three years ago, and he had then come to the conclusion that it was impossible to protect men when they were fastened to the soil. His great objection to the immigration of coolies was that they were coerced labourers; and though it was said that such immigration had succeeded in the Mauritius, he contended that if a man was fixed for five years he must become a slave. They wished the Government not to allow any one to fix the term for which a man was bound to labour, but to leave the labourer as free in that respect as he was in this country. Speaking as a proprietor in the West Indies, he had no hesitation in saying that he could see no want of labour. The real fact was, the planters wanted to bring new land into cultivation, and he thought the Government ought not to allow any coercion to be used for the purpose of bringing labourers and keeping them at work in that way. He had himself received many letters from the colonies, shewing that the most enlightened planters did not want any such an immigration of coolies; and one powerful argument against it was, that the mortality in the last immigration of the kind amounted to 50 per cent.

Sir E. B. LYTON—That was, he thought, an exaggeration: the last was undoubtedly very great, but it was 33, not 50 per cent.

Mr. STURGE said he took the mortality after the landing of the coolies, as well as that on the passage.

Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER said, they considered that after the country had made a sacrifice of twenty millions for the emancipation of the negro population in the West Indies, we had a right to ask that the population so freed should be protected from an inroad of slave-labour; and, further, that to tax the free-labourer in the first instance, to bring in slave-labour to compete with him, and thus reduce his earnings, was monstrously unjust. The deputation went further, and without urging objections in detail, said that Great Britain had stood forward as the champion of Freedom against Slavery, and that she could not maintain that position in future if she permitted the revival or continuance of any thing like Slavery in the very colonies where it had been abolished.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER said, that ten years

ago he was in the West Indies. At that time the wages given in many of the colonies were only from 4d. to 6d. a day. In Jamaica they were only 1s. a day; and from what he saw the condition of the labourer was not at all what it ought to have been. In British Guiana especially the condition of the labourer was most deplorable: the state of the poor coolies was that of the most shocking distress. He had seen many of them wandering about the streets starving. Large numbers were taken to the hospital, and even the mortality of 33 per cent. in Jamaica, which was admitted by the right honourable gentleman himself, was of itself a sufficiently strong argument against the renewal of such a system. Another consideration of great weight in the matter was the injurious deteriorating immoral influence which such an immigration must have upon the condition of the free-labourer in those colonies. Farther, the immigration agents, as a rule were not fit to be trusted with the carrying out of such a system; and he did not believe it was possible to introduce any provisions into the Bill which would make it a working measure.

The Rev. J. D. EAST had lived seven years in the midst of the sugar estates of the Trelawny district in Jamaica, and he could state that those who resided in that district felt the utmost astonishment at the statements which were made in this country as to the want of labour in the colonies. In that district, at all events, they had an ample amount of labour. A few months ago he was residing with a planter, and in the course of the morning upon one occasion he accompanied the proprietor and overseer over the estate, when they were in the midst of getting in the crop of sugar,—a time when the largest amount of labour was in requisition. Yet at that very busy time the proprietor had 110 hands employed in cleaning out a pond, being entirely extra labour, which could have been done at any other time of the year. He asked the overseer what the wages were, and was told that the men and women earned 1s. a day, girls and boys 9d., and the smaller ones 6d. a day. The right hon. gentleman would therefore see, that if on one estate 110 hands could be spared at such a time to clean out a pond, and an ample supply could be had at the crop-time for such prices, there could not be any lack of labour, at least in that district. Since he had been in this country he had received many letters from Jamaica, all of which concurred in stating that they did not want any addition to their labouring population by means of immigrants. In many parts the labourers had been in extreme distress from want of employment, so that it was plain this was not a time for the planters to introduce additional labour, even were the method by which it was proposed to do so unobjection-

able. In the parish of Elizabeth, the labourers were obliged to walk twenty miles to obtain labour at 1s. a day, and he had no hesitation in saying, that after seven years' residence in the midst of a sugar district, and travelling over a great part of the island of Jamaica, his deliberate opinion was that the supply of labour was quite equal to the capital and enterprise to be found in the island — (hear, hear) — and farther, that the introduction of any additional labour must tend to lower wages, which were already, as he had shewn, very low.

Sir E. B. LYTTON.—The coolies are to receive the current rate of wages.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW.—No provision for that is made in the Bill. The Chinese immigrants, for whose introduction there is a special Bill, are to receive the current rate of wages, but not the Asiatic or Indian coolies, or the Africans.

Rev. Mr. EAST.—But even if that were specially provided for, it must be evident to everyone that the introduction of additional labour by immigration must tend to reduce the wages of the labouring population already in the colonies; and he had no doubt that this, and this alone, was the real object of the planters.

Sir E. B. LYTTON said he had listened with great respect and attention to all the statements which the deputation had been pleased to make to him. He might not feel satisfied, with respect to the first introduction of this system, that it was free from objection, but there were some parts of the general principle, as laid down by the deputation, on which he might venture to differ from them; but he would not, while the matter was yet so imperfectly before him, venture to urge these objections. He would give the special reasons against the Bill which he had just received his most respectful attention, and if the Committee had any further objections to raise, and would favour him with them, they also should have his careful consideration. He would not venture to say more. He held in great veneration the principles advocated by the deputation, and, though not agreeing in all their views, looked upon the cause of emancipation and free-labour as a sacred one, and with as great a respect as any member of the deputation. Still, with these views, he might differ from them whether the labour proposed to be introduced by the Bill, and under the regulations prescribed, would lead to a revival of Slavery. All he could say was, that he would give the objections to the system his most earnest consideration. At the same time his own opinions would not be decisive. The Prime Minister would also have to be consulted, and no doubt would have his conscientious views on the question, as well as the other members of the Government.

Mr. STURGE said he urged the rejection of the Bill as a planter. He had expressly purchased an estate at Montserrat under great disadvantages, for the purpose of testing the question, and the result of his own experience was, that there was no difficulty in finding sufficient labour, if the resident labouring population were judiciously and kindly treated.

General THOMPSON said men were proposed to be got from Africa. How? Every one who had been in Africa knew they must be either bought or kidnapped.—(Hear).

Sir E. B. LYTTON replied, no men would come from Africa. That part of the Act would be a dead letter.

Mr. STURGE also objected to the Election Law of Jamaica, by which a man had to pay a fee of 10s. to enable him to vote. The effect would be to prevent the poor man from voting—to enable the rich to purchase votes, and thus make the House of Assembly more completely a planters' house than it now was.

After a few observations from Mr. JOSIAH FORSTER, urging the Government to consider the question on the high grounds of justice, morality, and religion,

Mr. KINNAIRD, M.P., thanked the right hon. baronet for the reception he had given to the deputation, which then withdrew.

The following is the Memorial which was presented to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton:—

“TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR E. BULWER
LYTTON.

“SIR,—The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* respectfully bespeak your attention to a few observations they solicit permission to submit to you, on the subject of Coolie Immigration from India and China.

“Some years have elapsed since the first attempts were made to introduce into the British West-India colonies, labourers from foreign parts, under contracts to serve for a given number of years, originating in the alleged difficulty of obtaining a sufficiency of Creole labour to meet the requirements of the planters. It was not without reluctance the Committee found themselves compelled to oppose the various schemes projected for this purpose. On the one hand, they were in favour of a perfectly free emigration, believing there might arise circumstances under which it would be as advantageous to our colonies to receive an accession of labouring strength, as to the immigrants themselves, to resort to them. On the other hand, the abuses incidental to these schemes, which degenerated into a regular traffic in men, differing in no essential particular from the slave-trade, and their mischievous effects on the colonies and their population, which received the imported labour, to say nothing of the objectionable laws enacted to enable the planters to enforce the fulfilment of the so-called labour-contracts,

early awakened the Committee to the disastrous consequences which immigration conducted on such a basis must inevitably entail; and hence their continued remonstrances against the practice. Although various modifications have been introduced with a view to correct the abuses of the carrying trade, the Committee do not see any reason to depart from the opinion they have more than once emphatically expressed, that immigration to our colonies, as at present conducted, is not only detrimental to their best interests and to those of the Creole population, but involves an amount of mortality and personal suffering for which no prospective advantages to a very small section of the colonial community, or to the surviving immigrants, can compensate, and which, in the opinion of the Committee, no Government is justified in entailing upon one class of its subjects for the benefit, assumed or real, of another.

"It is notorious that, whether the Coolies are obtained from India or China, they belong to the lowest grade of the native population, and are the refuse of the towns, with not unfrequently a large admixture of the vagabond, and even criminal element. In the case of the Indians, the males are greatly in the majority; in that of the Chinese, exclusively so; a fact which, to a great extent, accounts for the development amongst them of the most loathsome depravity.

"The Committee have observed, with deep regret, the persistent endeavours of the planting interest to disseminate in this country the most erroneous statements concerning the emancipated classes, many of which are absolutely without foundation. Amongst others, it is alleged that they will not work for wages, and hence, that while there is a large population, there exists a scarcity of available labour. This is asserted especially of Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, and late accounts go to shew that the cry is extending to St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent.

"That to bring under cultivation the vast extent of waste land in the three first-named colonies, labour to almost any amount could be absorbed, the Committee are not prepared to dispute; but that there is a scarcity of hands to meet the actual requirements of the labour-market in them, and even considerably to extend cultivation, the accompanying pamphlet on the *West-India Labour Question*, to which the Committee beg to direct your attention, contains ample evidence to justify them in doubting, and even in denying.

"Under these circumstances, the Committee cannot but express their conviction, that the sanction which your predecessor in office was induced to give to a scheme of immigration on the most extensive scale, is likely to lead to serious mischiefs, and they would express their unfeigned regret that this objectionable measure appears to have also received your approval. It would seem

that the project embraces, as immigration recruiting-grounds, not only India and China, but the colony of Sierra Leone; and they perceive that the Governor of the latter settlement has issued proclamations inviting the people to take advantage of this opportunity of earning their livelihood in the West Indies. Judging from the known habits of the Liberated Africans of Sierra Leone, the Committee do not apprehend that any considerable number of those who are already located there will be induced to quit the colony; but arrangements have been entered into, under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, for the prompt conveyance, to the West Indies, of any Africans who may in future be carried into that colony, against which the Committee feel it to be their duty strongly but most respectfully to protest. It has also been determined to take no more captured slaves to St. Helena, but to transport them direct to our West-India settlements; and that the whole of them are to be indentured under contract to serve there for a term of years; and this without giving them the option of refusal. Such a course, they beg to submit, is in direct contravention of the Act passed in August 1853, defining the rights of Liberated Africans, who are therein described as 'all persons dealt with or detained as slaves who heretofore have been or hereafter may be seized or taken under any of the Acts for the abolition or suppression of the slave-trade, by Her Majesty's ships of war or otherwise, and liberated or delivered to the officers appointed to protect, receive, or provide for such persons, and all other persons who, having been dealt with, carried, kept or detained as slaves, may have been taken and liberated, protected or provided for, under any of the said Acts.'

"To save this class of persons from Slavery in the first place, and then to violate their first right, as free men, to dispose of themselves, appears to the Committee to be so contrary to the policy which the Government has hitherto pursued, that they confidently hope the measure will be forthwith abandoned. They would further observe, that at a moment when Her Majesty's Government is strenuously opposing the French so-called free immigration scheme, which the Earl of Clarendon has not hesitated to designate as an undisguised slave-trade, to deliberately give its sanction to a project so similar to it, must materially weaken the effect of its own remonstrances, and leave it open to a charge of insincerity.

"The objections of the Committee to immigration, as it is at present conducted, are two-fold, and relate, first, to the principle, and, secondly, to the mode in which it is carried out.

"With regard to the principle, the Committee submit that it is a violation of the economic rules which govern the labour-market in all free countries, and which ought to regulate that of our colonies, to import foreign labour to compete with that

of the Creole, or even to supplement it on terms which leave the immigrant no option of disposing of his labour to the highest bidder in the open market; none of selecting the kind of work best suited to him, nor of choosing his employer; none of determining his term of service, place of residence, or period of return home: that it is a gross injustice to charge the funds of the colonies, either with the whole or any portion of the expenses of immigration, but is especially so to the emancipated classes, who are thus taxed to import labour which, though it can hardly be said to compete with their own, because the rate of remuneration is fixed arbitrarily beforehand, does so in effect, lessening their means of subsistence, and consequently their opportunities of social advancement; and that to sanction any scheme of immigration which gives the employer the power of fixing the rate of wages, irrespective of every other consideration save that of obtaining labour at his own price, is an element of that system which was abolished when emancipation was declared, and must entail consequences fatal to a good understanding between the employers of labour and the labouring population. Further, the excessive mortality amongst the immigrants, during residence, equal in Jamaica to fifty per cent. of the number imported, of itself constitutes a serious objection to the system; nor can the evils scarcely be exaggerated which are inseparable from the introduction into a civilized and progressive community of a class of persons composed chiefly of males, who do not recognise those moral and religious obligations into which a population professing Christianity is more or less imbued. Lastly, that the enormous expensiveness of immigration, which has entailed upon Jamaica a standing debt of 300,000*l.*, and last year involved British Guiana to the extent of 30,000*l.*, neither of which liabilities is in course of extinction, whilst the interest upon the amount is, in each instance, being paid by the people in the shape of an annual tax, is a grievous burden upon the resources of any colony; and that to pledge its resources to a redemption of any debt incurred for immigration purposes, as is the case at present in British Guiana to the extent of one-third of the cost thereof, and as it is proposed to do in Jamaica, is calculated to involve those colonies inextricably in financial difficulties, and materially to impede their prosperity. The Committee most respectfully submit, that if immigration is to be permitted at all, the entire expense of it should be borne by those who obtain and profit by the labour, and that the sanction of the Imperial Government should be withheld from every colonial measure which renders the local exchequer liable for any proportion of such expenditure.

"With reference to the second objection the Committee believe they are justified in making to the actual system of immigration, namely, the mode of obtaining the immigrants, there are three

classes to be dealt with—those from Africa, those from India, commonly called Coolies, and those from China. Hitherto no plan that has been devised has succeeded in inducing a voluntary emigration of negroes from the African coast on a scale commensurate with the demand for this class of labourers; and as the Committee have already expressed an opinion upon the projected compulsory removal of future cargoes of Liberated Africans, they may confine their attention to the Indian and Chinese Coolies.

"It is indubitable that, formerly, great frauds were practised upon the natives of India, to induce them to leave their own country for a foreign land, under indentures to labour there for a term of years. The presence of Government agents at Madras and Calcutta—the two ports of shipment—to superintend the engaging of the intending emigrants, and to see that the vessels conveying them away are properly found and appointed, and the regulations of the Passengers' Act complied with, has no doubt contributed in a great measure to check, if not to prevent, the earlier abuses incidental to the Coolie-traffic. Nevertheless, as it is nothing but a trade in men, prosecuted through native agents, who derive profit from their transactions, it is almost impossible for it to be conducted in a manner that does not leave it open to grave abuses. Strong, though indirect evidence of this fact is furnished by the excessive mortality during the sea-passage, shewing that the present regulations—how strictly soever they may be presumed to be enforced—are practically inoperative to prevent the shipment of persons already prostrated by the fatigues of a long overland journey, and constitutionally unfit to undergo that of a protracted sea-voyage, and for labour in a West-Indian climate. The last report of Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners states that "in the season 1856-57, twelve ships embarked 4094 souls at Calcutta; and the deaths on the voyage, besides those which occurred after landing in the colonies, were no less than 17.26 per cent. on the number embarked:" a rate which, if computed for the whole year, instead of for 90 days, the term of the voyage, would average upwards of 70 per cent.

"When it is borne in mind that the number of immigrants demanded for British Guiana, Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Lucia alone, for the present year, is at least 8000, and that at the rate of mortality mentioned, the supplying of that number will involve the sacrifice of nearly 1700 lives within a period to be computed by days, there is no escaping from the conclusion, that the Government which sanctions such a system is morally responsible for this most awful waste of human life.

"Fearful, however, as is the mortality on board of British ships conveying Indian Coolies to the West Indies, it is exceeded by that which occurs on board of those carrying Chinese thither and to Cuba. The most recent accounts bring

intelligence of the arrival at Havana, on the 20th of October last, of two British steamers, the *Scotia* from Hong Kong, and the *Cleopatra* from Amoy. The former landed 430 Coolies having lost 124 during the voyage; the latter, 374; her loss having been 76: being nearly 30 per cent. in the former case, and in the latter upwards of 20 per cent.

"In the Slave-trade Papers for 1857, Mr. Consul Crawford gives a list of vessels which had reached Havana with Chinese Coolies on board, between the 23rd of February 1856, and the 1st. of September, inclusively. Two of them, both British ships, the *Duke of Portland*, and the *John Calvin*, landed, the former 200, out of 332 embarked, and the latter, 175 out of 297; being a mortality in the one case of 40 per cent. during a passage of 149 days, and in the other of nearly 60 per cent. during a passage of 171 days.

"The Emigration Commissioner's report for 1853, also, gives particulars of three shipments of immigrants from Chinese ports, bound to British Guiana. The rate of mortality in two of these cases was 14 per cent.; in the third, nearly 50 per cent. To these may be added the case of the *Gulnare*, referred to in Parliamentary Paper 511, on Chinese Emigrants, presented last Session, shewing that she left Hong Kong for Havana on the 1st of April 1857, having on board 326 Coolies, of whom she landed only 268, on the 19th of August following, being a loss of 58, or nearly 18 per cent. in 141 days.

"In adducing these instances of the frightful death-rate on board vessels conveying Chinese Coolies to these distant parts, the Committee may be permitted to employ the language of Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners in alluding to it, namely, 'That these results are shocking to humanity, and disgraceful to the manner in which the traffic is carried on.'

"But this terrible mortality is only one of the features of Chinese Coolie emigration which renders the system open to condemnation. It is notorious that the Coolie agents have recourse to fraud, misrepresentation, and violence to obtain men for the traders; and now that the various ports of China are opened generally, an increase of existing abuses may with certainty be predicted.

"The Committee would especially deprecate a continuance of the practice of conveying Chinese, in British vessels, to countries where Slavery exists. It is an admitted fact, that those who are taken to Cuba as immigrant labourers are treated worse than the slaves, and are bought and sold as such, though they leave their country under what is termed a contract for service, for a term of ten years, with a right to a return-passage. The Committee draw a wide distinction between the regular passenger-traffic and the Coolie-trade. The Chinese passenger is a perfectly free agent, who pays a considerable sum for

being conveyed to his chosen destination. The Coolie is contracted for, bought or kidnapped, for disposal as a labourer, serf, or bondsman, in Cuba, Peru, or some other country where Slavery is the recognised system of labour, and where such agreements as the Coolies are furnished with are of no account whatever. The Committee entirely approve of the free emigration implied by a passenger-traffic, which not only affords employment to many British vessels, and brings into circulation a large amount of capital, but enables vast numbers of Chinese to better their condition by repairing to California, Java, Borneo, Siam, Manilla, various remote parts of China itself not within the British dominions, and to Australia, Mauritius, Singapore, and other places within them. But the Coolie trade proceeds upon a totally opposite principle. The individuals who are shipped cannot be regarded as free agents, for so long as those who have an interest in disposing of their labour are prepared to pay to the Coolie agents a premium per head for every immigrant obtained, there will never be wanting unprincipled men to devise schemes for entrapping the unwary, and deluding them on board under false pretences of every kind. Still less are they free from the moment they have signed the contract which binds them to their new master; and the Committee may be permitted, in designating this traffic, to employ the language of Sir John Bowring, who describes it as 'a trade differing in no essential particular from the regular slave-trade in negroes.'

"The Committee respectfully submit that the Bill introduced by the Earl of Carnarvon, during the last Session of Parliament, does not meet the exigencies of the case. Whilst it professes to deal summarily with what are called the abuses of the Chinese passenger-traffic, by restraining British vessels from carrying Chinese emigrants to any place not within the British dominions, thus cutting them off from the passenger-traffic between China and those places, it does not deal with foreign vessels engaged in the trade, nor with those which frequent Chinese ports where there is no British consul or emigration officer, or where we are not authorised to have such an agent. Yet it is a fact, and the mainspring, indeed, of the acknowledged evils of this Coolie-trade, that ships fit out from ports and places not only not recognised by treaty, but therein positively declared to be illegal, where there is no foreign authority to take cognizance of intruders who nevertheless claim exemption from native jurisdiction.

"The Committee are of course aware that Her Majesty's Government cannot prevent foreign vessels from obtaining Chinese emigrants at ports where its authority is not recognised, but it can declare it to be illegal for British ships to convey such persons thence to any foreign colony under contract to serve there for hire, and it can take measures to confine the shipment of emigrants to

the consular ports, and to render emigration itself perfectly free; for it may be reasonably supposed, that if the labour-market in our West-India colonies holds out sufficient inducement, the Chinese will emigrate to them of their own accord, as they do to California, Australia, and elsewhere, and will pay for their conveyance thither. Absolute prohibition—as strongly recommended by Sir John Bowring—would be, in the Committee's opinion, the only effectual remedy for the admitted abuses of the Chinese Coolie-traffic, which are so numerous that to enumerate them all would extend this document to undue length.

"The whole subject, however, is so important, that the Committee would respectfully recommend it to the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the speedy adoption of measures for rendering emigration both from India and China perfectly free, and thus putting an end to the present practice of obtaining labourers from those countries, on conditions that violate their personal freedom, that are utterly at variance with the principles of the enlightened commercial policy of this country, and with the system of free labour which has happily superseded Slavery in the British Colonies.

"On behalf of the Committee,

(Signed) "THOMAS BINNS, Chairman.

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

"27 New Broad Street,

"30th December 1858."

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND IMMIGRATION.

A CIRCULAR, of which the following is a reprint, has been issued by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, for the purpose of calling the attention of the friends of the anti-slavery cause to the dangerous and highly-objectionable measure which is now awaiting the assent of Her Majesty's Government. In placing it and its Appendices on record, we may venture to suggest that means should be adopted to obtain the insertion of the facts thus set forth in as many local papers as possible, and to adopt the recommendation of the circular.

"27, New Broad Street, E.C.

"January 1859.

"DEAR SIR,

"You are probably aware that, for some time past, the West-India party have been making the most strenuous efforts to obtain the sanction of the Government to a wholesale scheme of immigration, embracing India, China, and Africa. These efforts have been, to a certain extent, successful. The late Colonial Minister, Lord Stanley, gave his assent to the scheme, under certain conditions, which do not, in the opinion of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, remove the ob-

jections to be urged against the system of immigration, as it is at present conducted; and his successor appears to be carrying out his policy. The local Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica, acting upon this sanction, have resolved immediately to import a large number of immigrants—some eight thousand being already demanded for the two former colonies, Grenada and St. Lucia—while the Jamaica Assembly has recently passed an Immigration Bill so objectionable in every respect, that if it should receive the Royal assent, there is great reason to apprehend the re-institution of Slavery under another form. It is with a view to obtain the disallowance of this Bill that the Committee now most earnestly entreat your immediate co-operation. At the same time they would recommend that, while submitting your objections to it, in any Memorial you may address to the Government, you should take the opportunity of protesting, in the strongest terms, against the present highly objectionable system of immigration.

"In order to assist you in coming to a judgment upon this subject, the Committee beg to direct your attention to the annexed extracts from letters just received from two Missionaries of high standing in Jamaica, whose names, however, they have not permission to use, and to the copy of a Memorial (APPENDIX II.) they have recently addressed to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, which will put you in possession of the grounds on which the Committee—on behalf of their constituents—object to the importation of foreign labourers into the British West-India Colonies, of the evils which result therefrom, and of the remedy they propose. The Committee earnestly entreat your attention to these points, and beg to suggest that you should, without delay, adopt such measures as may seem to you to be most desirable, for bringing the subject under the notice of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in your neighbourhood, and submit for their approval a Memorial to the Colonial Minister, against the Jamaica Immigration Bill, to be forwarded to the Member who represents you in Parliament, with a request that he will immediately take the necessary steps for presenting it to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton. The Committee would add, that as the Jamaica Legislature passed the Bill with most indecent haste, and great pressure is being brought to bear upon the Government to induce it to give its assent to the measure at once, it is of the utmost importance that NO TIME BE LOST IN GETTING MEMORIALS ADOPTED AGAINST IT.

"With a view to facilitate this object, the Committee append a form which may serve as the basis of your appeal, but which they would recommend should be varied in phraseology. (APPENDIX I.)

"The Committee will be glad to receive a report of your proceedings as early as possible.

"I am, DEAR SIR,

"(On behalf of the Committee),

"Yours, very respectfully,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Sec."

The following is the draft which the Committee suggested should be adopted by intending Memorialists, as the basis of their Memorial:

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

"SIR E. BULWER LYTTON, BART.,

"Her Majesty's Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

"THE RESPECTFUL MEMORIAL OF

"YOUR Memorialists have had their attention directed to the objectionable character of the new Immigration Bill, recently passed by the Jamaica Legislature, and now awaiting the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, and therefore beg respectfully to submit to you the reasons which, in their opinion, justify them in praying for its disallowance.

"*First.* Because the measure is not required. The demand for 'immigrants' is founded upon an alleged scarcity of available native labour, whereas Your Memorialists possess evidence that the supply is not only sufficient to keep up the present extent of cane-cultivation, but considerably to extend agricultural operations.

"*Secondly.* Because the introduction of 'immigrants,' under indentures to serve for a term of years, especially in colonies such as Jamaica, where labour is already in excess, and at a rate of wages fixed arbitrarily beforehand by the employers, is a gross violation of the economic laws which regulate the price of labour in all free countries, and involves a disturbance of the relations between the employer and the labouring classes, highly detrimental to the interests of the latter.

"*Thirdly.* Because, under the actual system of 'immigration,' the colonies into which immigrants are introduced have to sustain a considerable proportion of the expense, which falls upon the very classes whose labour is thus superseded. The contemplated measure affords a pertinent illustration of this fact. It fixes the proportion to be borne by the planters, who alone are to benefit by the foreign labour, at two-thirds of the cost of its importation: but the remaining third, together with the salaries of the officials employed to carry out the system in Jamaica and in the countries whence the immigrants are to be exported, will fall upon the people. This is the more unjust and oppressive, because the commodities they consume are already subject to an import *ad valorem* duty of 12 per cent., the proceeds of which are appropriated to pay the interest on a debt of 300,000*l.*, incurred for previous immigration schemes.

"*Fourthly.* Because, as the effect of the measure will be to reduce the present inadequate rate of wages paid to the native labourers, it is calculated to provoke the most hostile feelings on the part of the peasantry of the island, and to lead to their permanent estrangement from the class to whom their labour is indispensable for the cultivation of their estates.

"*Fifthly.* Because the introduction of

hordes of Pagans and Idolaters, is likely to be vastly injurious to the moral and the religious interests of all classes of the community, but will especially retard the advancement of the masses, and that development of the advantages of freedom so longed for by the philanthropist and the Christian.

"*Sixthly.* Because 'immigrants' cannot be obtained indiscriminately from Africa otherwise than by purchase, in the same manner as slaves are bought for the Cuban market; nor from India and China, in too many instances, save by deception and fraud.

"*Seventhly.* Because the 'immigrants' will not be at liberty to choose their own masters, the kind of labour in which they shall engage, to fix the rate of wages they shall receive, the localities they shall inhabit, the food they shall eat, nor to quit the colony at their option.

"*Eighthly.* Because experience teaches Your Memorialists to anticipate a great mortality amongst the 'immigrants,' not only during their voyage to the island, but after their arrival and before they shall become acclimated. In Jamaica this mortality has amounted to 50 per cent. of the resident immigrants, during their term of sojourn, exclusive of the numbers who perished on the way.

"*Ninthly.* Because in the new Bill sufficient provision is not made for the protection of the 'immigrant,' and for his obtaining legal redress in all cases of an abuse of the authority conferred on his employers. Further, because the local agent, a stipendiary magistrate, is invested with almost unlimited power in the adjudication of alleged offences, which power, in the hands of an unscrupulous individual, may be converted to the worst uses.

"*Lastly,* Because the measure is not wished for by the masses; and because, after Great Britain has expended 20,000,000*l.* to emancipate the slaves in her colonies, it is not to be tolerated that a system akin to Slavery, only bearing another name, should be re-established in them.

"Your Memorialists have authoritative testimony that the Bill was passed with precipitate haste, and no opportunity afforded for the people to express an opinion upon it. They are firmly impressed with the conviction, that, if it should unfortunately receive the assent of the Imperial Government, the consequences will be most disastrous to the colony, and plunge it into difficulties from which it will perhaps never succeed in extricating itself. In praying, therefore, for its disallowance, they consider that they are promoting the best interests of the colony, and of its inhabitants, and venture to express the hope that you will suffer your decision to be guided by the broad principles of humanity and justice."

Appendix II., referred to in the circular, contained, besides extracts from two letters from Jamaica, a copy of the Memorial of the Committee, which will be found in a preceding column. We subjoin the

EXTRACTS FROM JAMAICA LETTERS.

"I FORWARD you with this, four Bills relating to immigration which have just passed both Houses of Parliament here, and received the Governor's assent. They were passed with such rapidity that we were unable to present one petition against them. You will see that, though some of the worst clauses have been removed, there is much in many of those which remain most objectionable. We are told that 3000 Coolies are already on their way to this island. When I remember the distressing scenes that were witnessed soon after the last importations, my heart sickens, and I would almost wish to leave the land, to be spared a similar sight. The number of the labouring population who have been unable to obtain any employment during the last six months has been larger than I have ever known; and yet His Excellency the Governor, in his opening speech, spoke of the want of labour in all parts of the island. As far as I can judge, Mr. Darling has come here determined to obtain the favourable notice of our planters. He has shewn himself, to all intents and purposes, strongly prejudiced in favour of a particular class. Our people look with confidence to the friends who gave them freedom to preserve their liberties. I forward you also another Bill to confer additional power upon magistrates. That has also passed the Assembly, and will shew you what kind of men we have for legislators. I cannot think that this Bill will pass the Council, but it may. I write this in haste, but am anxious that you should have the Bills sent by this packet. Those sent are what were presented to the House by Government. I believe they received some trifling amendments.

"A new Immigration Bill has been laid before the House of Assembly, which will, I believe, be read the second time this week. Many of the objectionable features of the Bill of last year are omitted, but others remain, and it is said to be in accordance with the principles laid down by the Colonial Office for conducting Coolie immigration. It is useless to oppose it here. The Governor, Council, and Assembly are bent on carrying the measure. There are not half-a-dozen members who will make a stand against it. It is the strangest infatuation I ever knew. Past experience, if nothing else, ought to convince them that it will prove a failure. The very men who, two or three years ago, spoke and wrote in unmeasured terms of the serious results of former importations of Coolies and Chinese, are now loudest in its favour, and bitterest in their denunciations of those who venture to speak or write against it. Already, under an old enact-

ment, 3000 Coolies are, with the permission of the Colonial Office, ordered, and they may be expected in the course of a few weeks. But whether it will answer the expectations of the planters, is, to say the least, very doubtful. If the mortality be equal to that of former importations—50 per cent.—if the price of sugar materially decrease, it will be impossible for it to pay: while the very thought of 3000 poor creatures being brought here, half of them to perish in the course of three or four years, fill one with horror; and if the scheme be carried out, and proves a failure, it will bring the island again to the very verge of ruin.

"It is useless for us to point to the incontrovertible fact, that in almost every district the supply of labour exceeds the demand; that week after week, during the greater part of the year, multitudes of labourers apply to the estates for work and cannot obtain it. The reply is—This may be true; but when the planter needs labour the most, he cannot obtain it: the people go at that very time to their own grounds. By why? Because they are compelled to depend upon their own grounds, as they cannot obtain regular employment upon the estates. It is said that the planters do not require the labour of the people at all times, and cannot afford to give them constant employment. But they will be compelled to employ and pay the Coolies at the same rate of wages all the year round, and will, moreover, be compelled to provide suitable houses for them, as well as the cost of bringing them here, and returning them to their native land. Now let them do for the native labourers what they will be compelled to do for the Coolies; let them provide suitable dwellings for them, instead of allowing them to herd together in wretched out-buildings—old and young, male and female—under the same roof; let them expend the money they will have to pay for the passage of immigrants in inducements for continuous native labour, and they will have over abundance. There are not more than 30,000, of our labourers, out of a population of 400,000, employed on sugar estates; whereas, if it were made worth their while, 100,000 could be obtained. There is, however, one thing on which the friends of emancipation do not calculate: it is said that the native labourers are resolved to withdraw from the estates on which immigrants are employed. If they carry their threats into execution, the loss to the planter will far exceed his gain."

In addition to these, we append a third letter which will be found equally important, and which we hope will be, with the previous extracts, extensively circulated by our friends.

"The Immigration Bill has passed the Legislature, and is probably on its way to England, but is not yet to be procured. A copy, however, of the Bill, as first presented to the House, has been sent to the Office of the *British and Foreign Anti-*

Slavery Society, and another copy to yourself my son forwarded by last packet. Some amendments have been made in it, but they have not altered the character of the measure: it is still a semi-slave Bill.

"In one respect it is worse than the last. Although the planters have to pay for the importation of the immigrants, the island has to pay to send them home again, or, if they remain, (which is very unlikely,) to provide them with allotments of land on which to settle. Now as the taxes are raised principally from import duties, and those are laid heavily on the necessities of life, it follows that the labouring population will have to pay a large portion of the expense of carrying out this measure. And in addition to the cost of return-passages, there will be a great increase of expenditure in providing hospital and prison accommodation, employing special magistrates, enlarging the police, which will have to be paid mainly by those whose bread will be taken out of their mouths by the immigrants. All these things, however, will be nothing in my estimation, when I contemplate the sufferings which, judging from the murderous results of former experiments, the poor immigrants will have to experience.

"Before the price of sugar advanced, immigration, both Coolie and Chinese, was acknowledged on all hands to be a failure; and now a large number of planters refuse to avail themselves of the supposed advantages of the law.

"I cannot hear that a single immigrant has been ordered for this parish, or the parishes of Trelawney, St. James, and Hanover; and I have heard that none who were ordered for Trelawney in the early part of this year will be required—that the order has been countermanded; yet Trelawney is the largest sugar-growing plantation in the island, and is increasing its cultivation. I can only hear of one or two parts of the island where labour is required, and where I am convinced, if regular work, decent accommodation, and fair wages were given, such as must be given to the immigrants, abundant labour might be obtained. But it stands to reason that people who can only obtain occasional employment cannot be at all times depended upon, especially when they do not get more than from 9d. to 1s. 3d. a day, and are obliged to herd together in miserable out-buildings, which become dens of vice into which decent people will not go, nor allow their children to go.

"If any thing can be done to obtain the disallowance of the Bill, I am sure that you and friends at home will do it. May God direct you, and then your efforts on behalf of our suffering fellow-men.

"Another Act has passed, which I hope the Home Government will insist on having amended. It is our Election Law, but which requires every elector to pay the sum of 10s. for a certificate to enable him to vote, and which will disfranchise

nearly the whole of our small freeholders, as well as persons of good education but limited means; while it will enable rich men to purchase votes, and thus make the Assembly more completely a planters' house than it is at present."

SPECIAL OBJECTIONS TO THE JAMAICA IMMIGRATION BILL.

THE following are the special objections which the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* entertain against the Jamaica Immigration Bill. A copy of them was forwarded to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, at his request, on the 22d ultimo, in anticipation of the interview on the 25th:

OBJECTIONS.

Clause 1. This clause does not leave it in doubt that immigration from the continent of Africa, or from the islands adjacent thereto, is contemplated. All the objections, therefore, which have been urged against the French scheme are applicable to the present one.

Clause 2 places in the hands of the Governor, for the time being, an amount of patronage which cannot but be regarded with extreme jealousy, as the immigration agents will all be his nominees, removeable at his pleasure. It contains, also, a most objectionable provision for paying salaries and head-money out of the public treasury. It is clear that the chief burden will fall upon the labouring-classes.

Clause 3. The same objection exists to this clause. It places an undue amount of patronage in the hands of the Governor. It may be observed, that under it his nominees are to be subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, but practically, the nominations will be in his hands. It is especially noticeable that the salaries or other remuneration of these foreign agents are not specified, nor is it stated from what fund they are to be provided. It will probably be out of the "public treasury."

Clause 4. By this clause the Governor may declare immigration to be open from any part of Africa, and thus virtually re-open the slave-trade. In fact, if this clause be permitted to stand, it will place immigration to Jamaica, from Africa, on precisely the same footing as the French scheme. It also appears to put it out of the power of the Home Government to control it, when once its assent has been given to this measure.

Clause 5. This clause is simply absurd, because neither the Governor nor the Government can compel women to emigrate from their own country, especially from China, where female emigration is prohibited by law, as well as forbidden by social custom.

Clause 6 appears, at first sight, to surround the engagement of the immigrant with sufficient precautions; but cases will arise—especially with regard to native African immigrants—in which it

will prove a dead letter. It may, indeed, be reasonably doubted whether any class of immigrant can be made fully to comprehend the nature of their engagement, and of the journey he will have to undertake. Were there, however, none of these objections, the following one, in relation to the next clause, would be fatal.

Clause 7. By this clause a contract or engagement, invalid before, may be made valid by the Governor. Thus, an immigrant may have been kidnapped, or bought, and forced to sign an agreement he does not comprehend; the fact may be duly reported by an honest immigration agent, and notwithstanding, the Governor may declare the agreement valid and righteous. The very provision which this clause contains bears important testimony to the apprehensions—probably well founded—entertained by the promoters of this measure, that immigrants will be obtained by unfair means.

Clause 10. The provision conveyed by the words "all other expenses reasonably incidental to the introduction, protection, and care of the immigrants," is superlatively indefinite and elastic, the interpretation of which rests entirely with the Governor, who can make it include any items he chooses. The various items are all indeterminate and indeterminable, which are made to cover what is loosely styled "the average cost of importation," although the Governor is to fix the latter beforehand. If he should succeed in fixing it, and do so in excess, it is true he has the power of remitting such excess, as an instalment upon the credit of the planter against future importations; but if he should fix it at a lower rate than may ultimately prove to be the actual cost, no provision is made for the recovery of the difference from the planter. The inference is palpable, that such deficit will have to be sustained by the colony. The regulation of all these items is simply impossible, yet the cost of importation will have to be borne by the colony, in the first instance. The whole clause is, however, open to the strongest objections, as likely to lead to the grossest abuses.

Clause 11. This clause throws upon the island exchequer the first cost of providing for immigrants who do not immediately find employment. It is true that the amount is recoverable from the planter who may ultimately secure their services; but the expense of erecting suitable dwellings for their reception will have to be borne by the colony.

Clause 12 purports to protect the immigrant, but is altogether too indefinite to secure the objects contemplated. It is left to the discretion of the Governor to carry out its provisions, who may or may not do so. But were they ever so definite and stringent, it would be found impossible to give them effect. The clause leaves the immigrants entirely at the mercy of the employers.

Clause 18 appears to be framed with especial

reference to Chinese immigrants and others who are not included in the three categories enumerated in Clause 1, and who may have entered into indefinite contracts prior to embarkation. That on their arrival in the colony, they should not be free to select their own employer is manifestly a condition of their engagement; but the principle is highly objectionable of introducing them under such conditions.

Clauses 19 and 20 refer to "Indian immigrants." Their actual term of service in the colony is fixed at five years. Under no circumstances can they be indentured to one employer for a shorter term than two years, though the option is left them of claiming to be transferred to another within one month after the first two years have expired. The fine which they are to pay for a certificate of industrial residence—to which they do not become entitled until they have served five years—is at the rate of £2. 10s. a year. The rate is enormously disproportionate to the wages they are to receive; and the clause seems framed with a view to keep them in the power of the planter.

Clauses 21 and 22. The term of the service of "Asiatic immigrants," to entitle them to a certificate of industrial residence, is fixed at five years—the same as those included in the previous clauses—for which period the immigration agent is empowered to assign them, but the amount of the fine they are to pay to commute their liability to serve is fixed at £3 a year, for every year they serve short of the five. The privilege conferred upon this class of immigrants to demand to be indentured to another employer, provided he prefer the request at the expiration of the first or of any succeeding year of his term of service, may be rendered valueless, in consequence of the omission of any specified time within which he is to claim his privilege, as in the case of "Indian immigrants" in the former clause.

Clause 24 reduces the immigrant to the condition of a chattel, because it constitutes him a part and parcel of the alienable property. The power of actual personal transfer is complete.

Clauses 26 and 27 are a mere elaboration and a consequence of the previous one. Given that the immigrant is regarded as a chattel for the time being, it must follow that his personal services—or the possession of his person and the command of it for the unexpired portion of his term—become subject to the laws governing moveable property.

Clause 28. There may arise cases when it will be impossible to decide the question of the ability of the immigrant to labour; for while he may really be unable to do so, the employer may maintain the reverse. This clause is sure to prove a fertile source of disagreement and oppression.

Clause 29. As the commutation-money for every year's unexpired term of service is fixed by previous clauses at from £2. 10s. to £3, it is most

unjust to give the immigration agent the power of fixing the amount of the money-payment any immigrant may be called upon to make for his absences during the term of his indenture.

Clause 30. Clause 22 prohibits the separation of children under fifteen from their parents. This clause brings the child of twelve under the authority of the immigration agent.

Clause 35. Most specious, and intended to entice the immigrant to remain for ten years, instead of five. In all cases of immigrants electing to remain ten years, the cost of their return-passage is to be defrayed out of the public treasury, that is, by the community. This is most unjust. The planter who has profited by the labour, ought to be required to pay the entire cost of its introduction, inclusive of the return-passage of the foreign labourer.

Clause 36. Another item of expense which is to fall upon the community, and especially upon that portion of it whose labour is depreciated by the introduction of foreign labourers.

Clause 37. Another, and a most serious responsibility, when the fact is taken into account that immigrants have been detained some months in the colony awaiting a back-passage.

Clause 41. The hours of labour are excessive in that climate, and unusual in the colony.

Clause 44 is a legalizing of the grossest abuse of arbitrary power, and a scandalous infringement of the liberty of the individual. Even a criminal—unless denounced for crime—cannot be apprehended without a warrant; and it is monstrous to invest subordinates with a power of arrest so likely to be abused. Besides, as the immigrant is already under penalty to serve for as many months of his unexpired term as he shall not have given to his employer, before he can claim his certificate of industrial residence, it is unjust and atrocious to render him further liable to imprisonment for a term that may extend to fourteen days, especially as, by Clause 29, such imprisonment is to be regarded and punished as an absence, which he must commute by a money-payment, or by extended service. Then it obliges the immigrant to confine himself, after or before his hours of labour, to a certain district, and to a certain distance within it. The whole of this clause is most objectionable in principle and in detail, as reducing the immigrant to the same level as the slave in former days, who durst not stir without a ticket-of-leave.

Clause 46. Impartiality is not to be expected at the hands of those who will be appealed to, to determine what constitutes "lawful absence." The penalty for the fault specified is monstrous.

Clause 47. Open to the same objection. It is easy to conceive that an ill-disposed manager may magnify unavoidable acts, leading to such damage, into wilful deeds with *malice prepense*. The clause is most dangerous, as placing in the hands of subordinates a power for oppression not to be estimated.

Clauses 49 and 50. As bad as the Fugitive Slave-Law, reducing the immigrant to the condition of a slave, and the colonist to that of a slave-catcher. Unmitigatedly bad.

Clause 51. Gives a dangerous power to the immigration agent.

Clause 55. The grossest abuses may be anticipated under this clause. The share of penalties inflicted upon delinquents, which used to be the perquisite of the informer in this country, led to numerous vexatious prosecutions; and the present clause is certain to lead to the persecution of the immigrants. Then, these rewards are to be paid out of the Constabulary Reward Fund. But this fund is raised by general taxation; hence the bulk of it will be contributed by the masses.

Clause 56. Without desiring to impeach the justice of the "immigration agent,"—who, however, it must be borne in mind, will be the Governor's nominee, and, in the majority of cases, a stipendiary magistrate—this clause is pregnant with the elements of oppression and abuse. In all countries where class feeling and class prejudice exist, no laws, of which the arbitrary administration is placed in the hands of the ruling class, are fairly interpreted, even where there is a public opinion to check an abuse of authority. But in Jamaica, where the class feeling and prejudice are aggravated by the prejudice against colour—to a greater or lesser degree—the complaining immigrant will fare but badly in any case, as even now do the native labourers when they have cause of complaint against their employers. It must not be lost sight of, that the time and trouble, and, perhaps, expense, of prosecuting a complaint, are material points. The immigrant is bound to serve nine hours a-day, for a term of years, and may not absent himself from service, "except in the case of illness." Every hour or day that he so absents himself is set down against him in the account kept of his time, which he must make good. But in cases such as are contemplated to arise, and are assumed to be met by this clause, it is easy to conceive, that in the absence of any provision to make the employer lose the time the immigrant may have expended in prosecuting his complaint against him, the latter will have to make it good, or pay its equivalent in money. It is no uncommon occurrence, even at present, for the native labourers to abandon just claims against their employers rather than incur the loss of time and money, and endure the delays and vexations incidental to an attempt to obtain redress. Thus, in practice, the present clause will prove inoperative; save as an instrument of oppression in the hands of the employer, though it is framed so speciously as to convey the impression that it is intended to protect the immigrant.

Clause 57 strengthens the objections against the previous clause; for it gives the immigration agent the power to abate—out of wages or damages due to the immigrant—an amount proportionate

to the "days or times he may be proved to have been absent from work without the consent of his employer, or to have neglected it, and also for damage done to his employer's property by or through misconduct, negligence, or carelessness." The remarks already made upon Clauses 46 and 47 apply with special pertinency to this one. The immigration agent is the sole judge of what constitutes the offences named—already punishable by imprisonment with or without hard labour—and also of what is "lawful excuse" for absence. On the other hand, however just may be the cause of complaint which the immigrant may have against his employer, it is not likely the latter will ever grant the former leave of absence to lay a complaint against him.

Clause 58. It is not difficult to foresee how this clause will work. The immigrant—whose time is not his own—may frequently be unable to lay his complaint within the given period, and means may be resorted to to prevent him from doing so; whereas the employer will have every facility.

Clause 60. The cost of importing immigrants introduced under these Acts is to be paid in the ratio of two-thirds by the planters, the rest by the colony. But what is to be understood by "the cost of their importation"? See the remarks suggested by Clause 10.

Clause 61. Here again, what is meant by "the whole cost of importation," which is to be sustained by the planter? Irrespective of the items included in Clause 10, which it will be impossible to estimate beforehand, there are the salaries of the immigration agents in the island and abroad, which are likely to be very considerable; besides numerous other items of incidental expenditure, which, in the absence of any provision for their payment by the planter, will inevitably fall upon the colony.

Clause 63. Any deficiency which may arise will fall, in the first place, upon the public treasury, and should the deficit not be made up, will have to be borne by it. See remarks on Clause 68.

Clause 64 is not at all clear, but appears to saddle the community with one-third of the cost of the contract, and is, in respect of other items, extremely ambiguous.

Clause 65 extends generally the objectionable provisions of this Bill to immigrants not introduced by the Government.

Clause 66 makes the public treasury responsible for the first outlay. It must be borne in mind, that any advances to immigrants remain as a debt against them, which they must liquidate. Now these "advances" may be made to cover sums paid to crimps, or actual head-money paid to African chiefs who have sold their people. The whole clause is therefore dangerously indefinite.

Clause 68 is extremely loose, and does not meet the question raised by Clause 63, because

more than "the two last half-yearly instalments" may be due.

Clause 69. The interest on the original amount, for which the credit of the island stands pledged, is paid out of the general taxation.

Clause 71. This clause constitutes "The Immigrants' Colonization and Return Passage Fund" a direct charge upon the surplus resources of the island. It affords another illustration of the manner in which the Bill has been framed—to relieve the planter, as much as possible, of the responsibility of bearing the whole expense of the immigration system. Besides, as the sums for the purposes named are to come out of any "unappropriated moneys," there is evidently no absolute provision made to secure the necessary funds to carry out the provisions of the clause.

Clause 73. The foregoing contingency having been foreseen, this clause empowers the Governor to pledge the general revenue of the island to furnish such amounts as may be required under the previous clauses. But in the event of a deficit—which may be anticipated—the charge, if provided for at all, will fall upon the community.

Clause 80 makes a provision for further charging "The Immigrants' Colonization Fund."

Clause 81 is highly objectionable, and unjust to the general body of tax-payers, especially to the native labouring-classes.

PROHIBITION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

WE append the text of Prince Napoleon's decree against immigration from the East Coast of Africa, reserving comment, on account of the pressure on our space. It was published in *Le Moniteur de la Colonization*, and, it will be remarked, does not apply to the immigration that takes place from the West Coast of the same continent.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF RÉUNION.

PROHIBITION AGAINST ANY RECRUITING OF IMMIGRANTS ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA AND MADAGASCAR.

"Paris, Jan. 6.

"MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR,—On receiving the present despatch, you will take the most rigorous measures to prohibit all recruiting of labourers, as well from the East Coast of Africa as from Madagascar and the Comoro Isles, and also any introduction into Réunion of immigrants from those sources, or from St. Marie, Mayotte, and Nossi-Bé. I write similar instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Morel.

"In acknowledging the receipt of the present communication, you will inform me of the number, the detail, the importance, and the date of the authority for such recruiting operations of the kind as, with the assent of your administration, may be in course of execution at the moment this despatch reaches you, and which, on

that account, will be the only ones excepted from my decision till they are completed.

"You will give me an account of the measures you take to ensure the strict execution of my orders in this respect.

"NAPOLEON (JEROME),

"The Prince charged with the Ministry for Algeria and the Colonies.

"P.S. I recommend to you the strict and prompt execution of this order."

EMIGRATION FROM WEST AFRICA.

In another column will be found a reference to the measure which the British Government has sanctioned, to promote emigration from the West Coast of Africa to some of our West India Colonies. The first dated the 17th of May last, applies to British Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia. The second, dated 23d of August, to the island of St. Vincent. As the subject is now attracting a considerable degree of public attention, and the efforts of the friends of the African are being directed to defeat what is regarded as a most objectionable measure, the placing of these documents on record has become necessary.

"PROCLAMATION.

"By His Excellency Colonel STEPHEN J. HILL, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral, Chancellor, and Ordinary of the same, &c.

STEPHEN J. HILL,

"WHEREAS it hath been signified to me that Her Majesty's Government, actuated by a desire to secure the well being of Liberated Africans, recently brought into this Colony, and also of other Members of the Community who may be inclined to seek profitable employment in the West Indies, have authorized an arrangement for the emigration to the Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia;

"AND WHEREAS, Vessels provided with the accommodation required by Acts of the Imperial Parliament may shortly be expected in this Colony for the purpose of conveying to the places above named such persons as may be disposed to Emigrate:

"Now, THEREFORE, I do hereby publish, proclaim, and make known, that I shall be prepared to give every facility in my power to all such persons as may be disposed to emigrate to the West Indies in search of those advantages which, by well applied industry, they cannot fail to secure.

"AND I DO HEREBY further proclaim and make known that all requisite information on this subject may be obtained from the Emigration Agent, the Honourable JOSEPH THOMAS COMMISSIONER, and that I shall be quite ready to

afford any advice that may be sought from myself.

"GIVEN at Government House, Fort Thornton, in the Colony of Sierra Leone this Seventeenth day of May, in year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, and of Her Majesty's Reign the Twenty-first.

By His Excellency's Command,

J. F. SMYTH, Colonial Secretary.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

Emigration to St. Vincent.

The Governor-in-Chief is pleased to publish the following extracts from a Despatch of the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent to the Right Honourable Sir EDWARD G. E. L. B. LYTTON, Bart., forwarded to His Excellency Colonel Hill for general information.

"The ordinary rate of pay in St. Vincent of an able-bodied labourer, not furnished with cottage or provision-ground, varies from tenpence to a shilling a day, for a day's work nominally of nine hours. But practically almost all work is done by task-work, under which the labourer is enabled to execute in five or six hours that which, if working by time, would occupy the whole nine hours.

"Labourers who are provided with a cottage and provision-ground on the estates where they work, receive about eight-pence per day instead of ten-pence to a shilling.

"In both cases women and children are paid proportionably to the able-bodied labourer according to their powers of working. In both cases, also, the labourer rarely works more than five days in the week, Saturday being usually taken for his own purpose, and of course not paid for by the master.

"Should the intending emigrants be willing to work the full week of six days of nine hours each day, or give its equivalent in task-work, one shilling a day for wages will be given, together with gratuitous medical attendance, house, and provision-ground.

"Saint Vincent is stated to be one of our healthiest tropical possessions, can spare abundance of land for provision-grounds for the labourers, offers the highest rate of wages with concurrent advantages, and has made ample provisions for carefully receiving and satisfactorily providing for any number of labourers who may arrive.

"His Excellency, Colonel Hill, invites general attention to the foregoing facts, which are worthy of the particular notice of such of the inhabitants of this colony, whose trade or occupation fails to secure to them regular employment.

"To the industrious the West-India Islands afford comforts for themselves and families unknown to a large body of the labouring classes of Sierra Leone; the rate of pay and advantages in St. Vincent, being common to the Islands of Trinidad, Granada, Tobago, and other

places—with all of which ready communication is maintained.

"Further information can be obtained upon application to the Collector of Customs at this port, who is *ex-officio* the Emigration Officer.

"By His Excellency's Command,

"A. PIKE, Acting Colonial Secretary.

"Secretary's Office,

"Sierra Leone, 23rd August 1858."

With reference to the first proclamation, the *African* of the 27th May made the following remark :

"We gave in our last week's issue a Proclamation respecting Emigration to the West Indies. But until the West-Indian Governments fulfil their long-violated engagements, to give a return—passage to the many disappointed labourers, whose hearts' desire is to visit once more their native land, we see not the least chance of success. We have had repeated letters from individuals, praying us to use our influence in getting them a passage back to Sierra Leone. It is notorious that such a promise was made to the first emigrants who left this for Trinidad and other places, and it is equally notorious, that it has been shamefully evaded. We feel quite certain, that whatever ships may come here, in accordance with the terms of the Proclamation, they are likely to go away empty, so far as free voluntary emigrants are concerned.

"We are, however, by no means unfriendly to emigration. The condition of things in our colony make it highly desirable to be relieved of our surplus population. With a small extent of territory, nearly three-fourths of which is unproductive to a growing population, who cannot find elbow room within our narrow precincts, emigration affords a hopeful prospect to many of bettering their condition. Since the Home Government, most unwisely as we think, will not sanction any increase of our present territorial limits, nothing remains but that our people must go somewhere. And we know of no objection to emigration to the West Indies, provided all covenant engagements were faithfully observed. Let the first ships that come for a supply of labourers bring with them some of those who have been for years longing to see 'Sierra Leone;' and we rather opine they would prove the most efficient Emigration Agents."

We may also observe that we are not "unfriendly to emigration," but it must be a true and a free "emigration," not a system which binds the labourer, while it leaves the employer comparatively free from obligation, or imposes restrictions upon him which are rendered practically nugatory by the absence of any provision for enforcing their observance.

The same paper of the 2d of September contains the following remarks on the second Proclamation :

"In drawing the attention of our readers to a Government notice on the subject of emigration to the West Indies, and which will be found in this day's impression, we would, on behalf of our fellow-colonists, whose friends and relatives emigrated to the West Indies some years ago, thank

His Excellency Governor Hill for his kindness in causing inquiry to be made regarding the engagement alleged to have been entered into by the Colonial Emigration Agents, to secure to the emigrants, after a given period, a free passage back to this colony, but which has not in all cases been fulfilled. His Excellency having brought this matter under the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it is to be hoped that those of the emigrants who have not acquired property and settled in the colonies will in due time return to their friends. We have heard with much pleasure, and on reliable authority, that several of the emigrants are possessed of small freehold property; others are owners of vessels; and some are shopkeepers, living in comfort.

"To a great many of our rural population the British West-India Colonies offer great advantages, which they will do well to avail themselves of. With regard to a return passage, this is a matter which should be arranged with the Government Emigration Agent. We believe that the Legislatures of Demerara, Trinidad, and St. Vincent, respectively, offer a bounty of five pounds per head for each person who embarks for the colony."

It would appear, that up to the date of this article, none of the Africans who "emigrated to the West Indies some years ago," had yet returned, though many were reported to be "living in comfort" there. Doubtless there is a very large proportion of the population in Sierra Leone which is obliged to settle, or rather squat, beyond the actual precincts of the colony, where they are said to be living a semi-barbarous life. But were these people encouraged to grow the staples indigenous to the soil and the climate of Africa, they would shortly become amenable to the social influences of civilization, and prepared to receive the truths of religion. They would thus be setting an example to the people living around them, and in this manner the redemption of Africa would be wrought out. It is altogether an error to imagine that the African is to be morally improved by contact with colonial society. If his advancement and improvement are really aimed at, then let the necessary training and teaching be given to him at home. Lest, however, any of them should be induced to emigrate to Jamaica, we direct their attention to the provisions of the new Immigration Bill—to be found in another column—which will furnish them with some idea of what awaits the immigrant labourers in that island.

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

A BAZAAR was held in Dublin, on the 17th of December, by the *Irish Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, which has awakened much interest in that metropolis. It was open for one day, and realized, after paying expenses, upwards of a hundred pounds, the chief part of which has been transferred to the treasury of the *Rochester*

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, for the relief of fugitives.

The Bazaar was held in the Round Room of the Rotunda, the walls of which were decorated with fanciful devices, executed by some ladies of the Committee. Over the orchestra, in beautiful illuminated characters, was displayed "REMEMBER THEM THAT ARE IN BONDS;" and immediately opposite, in superlatively large letters of red and gold, was "IRELAND," circling round the Irish harp, wreathed with shamrock. On one side of this national emblem were ranged along a section of the room the names of the contributing towns of England, in gaily-coloured letters a foot in length, all encircled and connected by festoons of evergreens, in which the holly and ivy of the season shone conspicuous. Thus they had on one side, under these verdant auspices, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL, LEEDS, HALIFAX, LIVERPOOL, WORCESTER, and COVENTRY; on the other, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, ABERDEEN, and MONTROSE. Nor were the insignia of royalty forgotten, for there, in a prominent position, were V. and R., surmounted by a crown, and emblazoned with roses.

Between the great chandelier of the centre arose a beautiful Christmas tree, upwards of twenty feet in height. Young gentlemen belonging to the families of Committee-ladies kept guard around the tree, with their long white wands, unhooking the brilliant trifles from pendant branches for admiring little people, as tiny purses yielded up their contents in exchange for the tempting fruit of the Christmas tree. It was a charming scene. That brilliant room, with its rich liberal contributions, and tasteful surroundings, its warm sympathies, its earnest, happy faces, and the prevailing harmony among the conductors of the whole.

Some of us had heard so much, and had read so much against Bazaars, that we entered on this, determined to test by experiment the practicability of unexceptionable management. And never was a conviction more clear from what was there realized, than that Bazaars, like other organizations, may be well or ill conducted, and have good or bad results, according to the principles on which they are founded, and the spirit in which those principles are carried out.

We have often been asked, Would not the money expended in executing those works of art and taste that ornament the Bazaar table, be much better at once transferred to the treasury of the philanthropic Society they are intended eventually to serve, instead of going through the doubtful process of sinking capital in materials for the lady-like manufactures to be disposed of at a Fancy Fair? This question is put, just as if they who give their energies to the philanthropic Society in question were able to choose between the two alternatives—money without a Bazaar, or money with all the additional trouble of a Bazaar. The fact is, they who work a charity are doubly thankful to those who give the means of sustaining it without the intermediate process; but we think it best to leave contributors to choose such medium as they prefer. The money direct lessens our trouble, but we

believe the well-managed Bazaar has its humanizing influences, its spirit of inquiry, its benevolent attractions, and its cheering results, that even the long list of well-rounded subscriptions cannot to the same extent spread abroad, though we admit that the money subscriptions more promptly, and with less difficulty, reach the philanthropic treasury. But the fancy products of the Bazaar reach circles where your subscription-list would not be glanced at. There are sympathies that may be awakened, and purse-strings that have been opened widely, when approached through the Berlin wool embroidery and silken tissues, that would have been appealed to in vain for a direct subscription. To awaken slumbering sympathies even that way has sometimes been of permanent use; and the lady whose ingenious work tempts the lukewarm to purchase can console herself with the thought that she may be helping to promote the cause of humanity in more ways than one. The sofa-cushion purchased at an Anti-Slavery Bazaar has, before now, not only suggested to the lady-like possessor a kindly remembrance of those that are in bonds, but an humbling comparison between her own dull sympathies and the warmer feelings that prompted the industry which created that on which she reposes in useless inactivity. This suggestion has set idle fingers to work, as well it might; and we trust it will do so again and again.—*Communicated.*

LEEDS YOUNG-MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Report of the *Leeds Young-Men's Anti-Slavery Society*, for the year ending November 1858, has been kindly forwarded to us. Its institution has led to the formation of two others, on the same basis; one in Edinburgh, the other in some other city not named. The Society appears to have been active in promoting the diffusion of information, and in doing what, in its judgment, is anti-slavery work; including the presentation to the Rev. E. Matthews of a writing-desk, and a purse of five guineas, the latter tendered by proxy on behalf of an elder Association at Leeds. The Committee are promoting the adoption of an address to religious bodies in the United States. An Appendix to the Report gives a brief abstract of the proceedings at the Town Hall, on the 28th December ultimo, on the occasion of the Annual Meeting, when the Earl of Carlisle delivered an impressive address. A series of essays and lectures is in course of being given, the last four of which are announced for the 8th and 22d of the current month, and for the 9th and the 16th of March.

DUNDEE LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

THE Seventh Annual Report of the *Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association* is duly to hand, and gives a brief but interesting statement of the principal events which indicate anti-slavery progress in the United States.